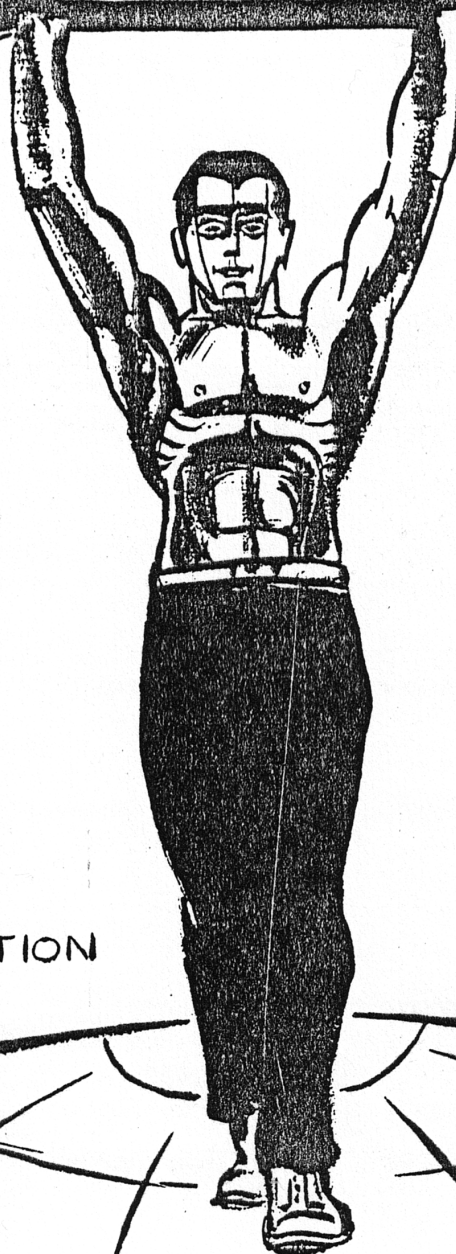


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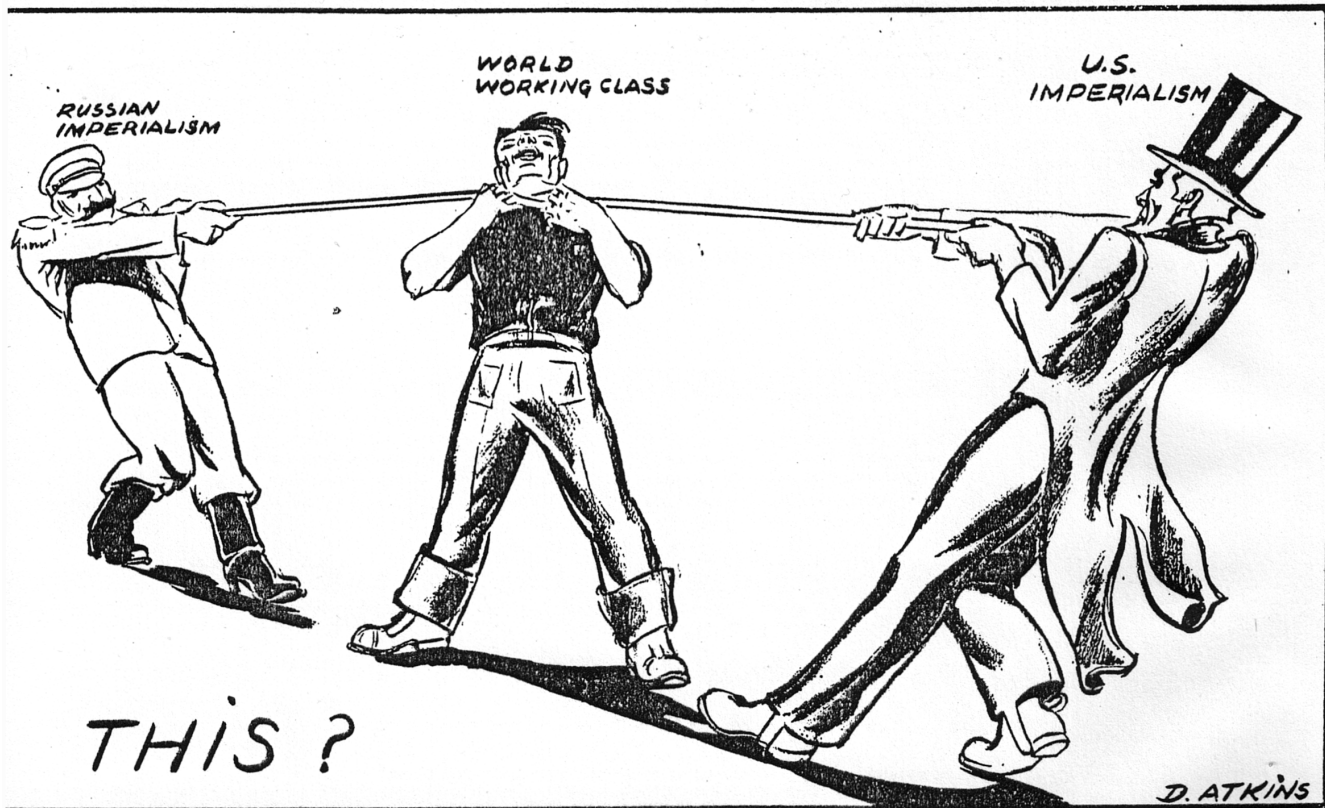
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Announcement

Subscription to International Bulletin is one dollar (\$1.00) a year. If you wish to receive this publication regularly, please send sub to address on cover.

War and the American Workers

I

The coming Imperialist War

Wednesday, March 17th, 1948 marked a sharp turn in the general course toward the third World War. If that war bursts upon the world the population of the United States will be subject to bombing, germ warfare, atomic annihilation and a host of other destructive agents developed by science in the service of Western Imperialism and Russian Imperialism. This will be the first experience of the monstrous destructiveness of Imperialist War felt directly by the American population. It will demonstrate to the hilt how American capitalism is bought and paid for at the price of the lives of the American workers lost on the battlefields in the misguided service of American Imperialism.

President Truman's speech on that fateful day noted what was common knowledge to all. "Russia is the enemy". "Russia must be stopped". "Communism must be defeated by economic aid to Europe thru the Imperialist Marshal Plan and increased military support to Greece, Turkey and China. Thus was pointed up the three sectors in which Russian and Western Imperialism come into collision.

Russian Imperialism expands through the coordination of a host of satellite states into Central Europe pointing a dagger at Western Imperialism. Eastern and Western occupied Germany and Austria, buffers for Eastern and Western Imperialism finds the Anglo-American-French Armies face to face with the Russian Armies, unable to release the throttling grip on the keystone of European economy for fear of losing strategic positions in preparation for the coming war.

The Mediterranean, controlled by British and American Imperialism is coveted by Russian Imperialism in its drive to control the near east and Far East. Nascent civil war in Italy and open warfare in Greece, while forms of expression of the war of the workers against capitalism have been turned by the agents of Russian Imperialism and Anglo-American Imperialism into secondary fronts of the coming Imperialist War.

Oil dominates the politics and warfare of the Middle East. America, England and Russia maneuver between Arab and Jew in a mad scramble to exploit the oil resources of the Middle East. This is the first act to open Imperialist conflict in the Middle East which the present Arab-Jewish war is the prologue.

The Far East, China has been in revolutionary crisis for more than twenty years. Russia maneuvers its imperialist puppet armies in war against Chiang-Kai-Shek's armies behind which stands the United States. United States and Russia compete with one another to exploit the workers and peasants of China in the spheres of agriculture, mining, steel manufacture, railroad transportation and the maritime river trade. Russia seeks recruits by covering itself with the stolen mantle of the October revolution. The U.S. seeks recruits by covering its puppet dictators with the mantle of democracy.

The workers of America only three years after World War II are being whipped again into a frenzy of national - patriotism in order to dragoon them into Universal Military Training and the Draft. The Workers of America are being called upon to be cannon-fodder for the U.S. capitalists.

World War II is now exposed as a war waged against the working class. World War III will be a war for the continued and increased exploitation of the

oppressed masses as a consequence of the Imperialist struggle for the control of the world's material wealth.

Democracy is the instrument for war of Western Imperialism.

Stalinism is the instrument for war of Russian Imperialism and its satellites.

The Contradictions of U.S. Imperialism

The United States is owned and ruled by the capitalist class. This class functions behind the cloak of democracy. Actually its rule is absolutist and plutocratic. It is the dictatorship of the capitalist class.

This dictatorship is smoothly hidden by cunning propaganda in the press, radio, pulpit, school, and halls of legislation.

The workers must understand the nature of capitalist society in order to understand and stop the U.S. capitalist drive to war. This drive to Imperialist War III is based on the contradictions of capitalism and the contradictions of American capitalism in particular. These are the motive forces behind the drive to organize the world for the interests of Wall St. in rivalry, primarily, with Russian Imperialism.

These contradictions are dominated by the general contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation. Flowing from it are the other basic contradictions of U.S. Capitalism, characteristic of world capitalism in general. They are the antagonism of the working class and capitalist class; the antagonism between the organization of the individual workshop and the anarchy of production in general; the antagonism between production and the markets; the antagonism between production and national boundaries; the accumulation of wealth at one pole, over population, accumulation of misery, slavery, exploitation, subjection and degradation at the other pole.

The general contradiction between socialized production and capitalist appropriation inevitably ends in the explosions of war and revolution.

Situation of the American Working Class

The percentage return on net worth of goods in the first nine months of 1947 for the capitalist class of the United States in the basic industries was as follows:-

	1945	1947
Food Products	11.2%	19.8%
Chemicals, Drugs etc.	10.9%	17.0%
Iron and Steel	4.7%	11.0%
Electrical Equipment	10.3%	17.7%
Autos & Equipment	11.2%	20.0%
Total Manufacturing	8.8%	16.4%

The percentage increases of Profits, Farm Income, Wages and Salaries from 1945 to 1947 is the following:-

Corporate Profits - 89.9%

Farm Income - 35.6%

Wages & Salaries - 27.9%

The Rate of profit was as follows:-

1945 - One dollar of clear profit made for every \$7.00 in wages and salaries paid.

1947 - One dollar of clear profit was made for every \$4.00 in wages and salaries paid.

The percentage increase in prices of clothing for the American worker from 1945-1947 increased 5.16%.

The consumer price index increased from 100 in 1945 to 130 in 1947.

Average weekly earning index went from 85 in 1945 to 109 in 1947.

Average weekly wages in 1946 were \$42.15, living cost \$53.50 leaving the worker with a deficit of \$11.35.

Average weekly wages in December 1947 were \$52.51, living costs were \$66.00 a week, leaving the worker a deficit of \$13.49.

The following are the net income profits of some of the capitalist enterprises for 1946 and 1947.

Westinghouse with a 4 month strike in 1946 made a profit of \$8,823,846.

In 1947 Westinghouse made a profit of \$48,806,417. This is an increase of about 500%.

National Lead made a profit of \$9,677,084 in 1946. In 1947 a profit of \$12,180,132.

General Electric, \$48,008,850 in 1946.

In 1947 - \$95,298,940.

DuPont - \$112,619,706 in 1946 - 1947 - \$120,009,760

P. Lorillard (Old Gold Cigarettes) 1946- \$3,512,213 - 1947 - \$5,515,925.

Rayonier (wood cellulose) \$8,505,906 in 1947

\$2,500,944 in 1946

St. Regis Paper - \$5,563,603 in 1946

\$14,631,325 in 1947

(From C.I.O. News - March 15, 1948)

It is interesting to note that the real wages of American workers increased from \$11 a week in 1913 to about \$22 in 1947 in terms of dollar purchasing power in 1913. (Based on chart in Lithographers Journal, March 1948.)

Workers are driving for wage increases and better working conditions under the leaderships of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. This leadership can only scale down demands and compromise working conditions because they represent the interests of the capitalists and not the workers.

The drive for higher wages and better working conditions is taking place in the printing industry through the International Typographic Union (A.F.L.). The C.I.O. Packinghouse Workers are on strike. The C.I.O. Electrical Workers are attempting to regain its weakened economic position. The United Auto Workers (C.I.O.) is driving for higher wages etc. The C.I.O. Steelworkers will drive for higher wages in April. The Vancouver local of the Steelworkers C.I.O., British Columbia, Canada went on a five week strike, now concluded with 10¢ an hour increase and improved vacations. Negro cafeteria workers in Washington D.C. are on a 10 week strike against Government Services Inc., a private corporation which operates cafeterias in 42 government buildings. These negro workers are getting a run-around from the House Labor Committee and the Government Services Incorporated.

The trade union leadership of the C.I.O. and A.F.L. provide elaborate research to show that workers wages are insufficient to meet the needs of food, shelter and clothing. They prove conclusively that capitalist profit is fabulously high and capable therefore of throwing the workers crumbs of bread and still maintain astronomical profits.

The C.I.O. and A.F.L. leadership lie to the workers about the cause for their distress and on the other hand kiss the boots of the capitalists on the theme "can't you spare another dime" while getting hoarse throats and spending the workers dues on tons of paper and ink to prove to the capitalists that they want to maintain capitalism, that they are good stooges for the capitalist exploiters. But the capitalist class is always reluctant to compromise and in fact throws horse manure and cow dung at the labor leadership, which ruins the workers, through anti-working class Taft-Hartley laws.

Why is it that shorter hours and higher wages are so tough to get if capitalist profit is not harmed?

Answer - The U.S. government is the state of the capitalists. The economic, political power is in their hands. This is their government. Their state. No matter how little effect increased wages and shorter hours may have on their profits, they are able to maintain the discrepancy between wages and profits, through their state which gives them the juridical title to the means of production. In other words the key economic question of wages and profits brings us directly to the political question. Which class rules? And in that question is the answer. The C.I.O. and A.F.L. leadership hide the fact of which class rules, even while it exposes the statistical relation of wages and profits and the consequent swindling of the working class.

They lie when they promise the workers a new deal if they elect candidates to office friendly to labor from the Republican, Democrat Wallace or Labor Party Camp.

Since wages can never buy back for the workers the full value of what they produce under capitalism, parties and programs aiming at the reform of capitalism will never succeed in making the capitalist state function in the historical interests of the working class. Wages and prices pose the question of power, power for the working class, which is the seizure of state power, and the smashing of the capitalist state machinery.

Regroupment in the Camp of Opportunism

The dissatisfaction of American workers with American Imperialism on the colonial question, the double oppression of the workers of minority racial and religious origins, the general regression against the working class (anti-alien drive, anti-communist drive, anti-union drive, Taft-Hartley law), the inability of capitalism to solve its own contradictions except through another Imperialist war has shaken the bourgeois political arena to its foundations.

A mad political scramble to maneuver the workers into continued support of American capitalism is taking place. It becomes increasingly difficult for the leading opportunists to drag the workers into direct support of the American bourgeoisie.

Regroupment is taking place within the capitalist trade union movement.

The issue of the Anti-Communist affidavits required under the anti-working class Taft-Hartley law was the apparent reason for the split between Lewis's United Mine Workers of America and the American Federation of Labor. The real reason for the split, of course, was the rivalry over which trade union lord of the A.F.L. council was to have jurisdiction over key sectors of labor. At the present time the mine workers are on strike for increased old-age benefits. This struggle is tying up bourgeois trade and commerce via ship and railroad.

The United Electrical Workers Union and the International Typographic Union as well as segments of the other unions are in direct collision with General Electric and the Newspaper Publishers respectively, on the issues of the closed shop, longer hours, pay, and the anti-communist affidavits demanded by the capitalists in these industries under their Taft-Hartley law.

Politically the bourgeois trade union leadership is abandoning the Truman machine. As the workers move to the left the trade union fakers and capitalist political careerists rush into the breach made by the leftward moving workers in order to tie them to the capitalist system and its war aims. The Stalinists, social-democrats, and the Trotskyists are willing partners in betraying the workers.

Wallace and the Stalinists form a coalition that presents a petty-bourgeois program to the workers, a program that props up Russian Imperialism and American Capitalism. A program that caters to the prejudices of minorities just as the other sections of opportunism caters to the prejudices of majorities. There is no working class character to the Wallace-Stalinist demagoguery. Their program is one of the roads to Imperialist War.

Murray of the C.I.O. and Green of the A.F.L. have set up wheezy machines for keeping the workers tied to the Democratic and Republican parties. The Wallace-Stalinist demagogues are heading for a temporary split with the Truman trade union fakers within the C.I.O. Since the demagoguery of the Wallace-Stalinist coalition has trapped more workers than the older bourgeois trade union and political machines originally estimated, they have hurriedly come forth with reactionary quick panaceas to stabilize their bailiwicks. Democratic party politicians propose a man on horseback, General Eisenhower for president. Republican party politicians propose another man on horseback General MacArthur. Reuther, who till recently was Murray's henchman; a no-strike pledge trade union politician on the War Labor Board in World War II, and now a 44 hour a week man has come out tentatively with Dubinsky for an anti-communist labor party in 1949. The dream of Socialist and Trotskyist opportunism may come true.

Their function is to give the Imperialist labor party politics the attractive radical glitter that it requires to ensnare the workers into support of capitalism and the next Imperialist War.

The working class can expect nothing but a new round of betrayal at the hands of the opportunist currents.

The Main Tasks of the Proletariat

The proletariat must break with the Anglo-American, Italian and French Imperialist bloc.

The proletariat must break with Russian Imperialism and its satellites.

It must wage a struggle against the reform programs of the capitalist politicians, the capitalist trade unions and their leaders (Murray, Green, Reuther, Thomas, and their satellites, Trotskyism, Stalinism and Social-Democracy.

The aim of this struggle must be the building of a revolutionary marxist party.

The fight against the coming Imperialist war is the struggle for the formation of a revolutionary marxist international.

In the course of the class struggle the revolutionary party and International shall seek to block the war moves of the Imperialist bloc of powers, Russian and American. In the event of armed conflict between the Imperialists, the revolutionary party and International shall seek the defeat of its own bourgeoisie. The Imperialist War shall be turned into civil war. In the fire of civil war the proletariat will establish its dictatorship against the Bourgeoisie.

D.

Greetings

To the Second Congress
Internationalist-Communist Party
(Italy)

The American Fraction (Left Communist-Internationalists) sends you fervid revolutionary greetings. To you, who in action of long experience keep firm the principles of revolutionary marxism against all betrayal.

Yellow Italian capitalism is in the worst crisis of any capitalist class in history. To you is assigned the task of delivering the first revolutionary blow. Why?

The political guidance of the party is guaranteed by the excellent quality of the Italian fraction.

From the Country of cement and steel our aspirations are the same as yours but without the revolutionary party which is the iron base of the proletariat.

Marxism in this reactionary epoch will be confirmed by the great historical force of the proletariat.

Proletariat, Antithesis to Capitalism...

Our confidence in the good work of your revolutionary congress is unbounded.

Fraternally,

American Fraction
Left Communist Internationalists

Arab versus Jew

The right of self determination for colonial peoples and small nations is employed by the Russian Imperialist bloc and the Anglo-American Imperialist bloc to partition the world into a whole series of colonial and semi-colonial satellite states. Their native ruling classes aid this division of the earth into spheres of exploitation under the guise of movements for national independence in order to preserve for themselves the right to exploit their own proletariat within the frame work of imperialist super-profits. The ruling classes of the colonial, semi-colonial and small nations pose as victims of imperialism to their own oppressed masses in order to turn the anti-capitalist sentiments of the exploited into national patriotic channels only the more surely to swing their national units into political economic and military support of one Imperialist bloc against another in the bloody struggle that never ends for world domination. The bourgeoisie of the small nations, and the colonial and semi-colonial bourgeoisie compete with one another for the favor of one or the other Imperialist power now by negotiation and then by war, behind which are the rival imperialist powers facing one another, maneuvering for position in preparation for open Imperialist war.

Zionism and the Jewish proletariat

Zionism is a national - patriotic movement led by the Jewish bourgeoisie to establish a Hebrew national state. This is the dominant ruling force in the Zionist movement. Swinging behind it is an intricate network of currents, cultural, reformist and fascist. The "labor" bloc of Zionism is dominated by Social Democracy, Stalinism and a sprinkling of Trotskyism. The ruling bloc is dominated by bourgeois democracy and fascism in which, again Stalinism is included.

The political history of Zionism is a history of alliance with, and support of Anglo-American Imperialism. In World War I and World II they were recruiting agents for the armies of U.S. and Britain. In return they got the Balfour declaration promising a Jewish State after World War I. While functioning as official agents of British Imperialism amongst the Jewish masses they were not permitted to establish the Jewish State that British Imperialism promised on paper. That too would have alienated the Arab national bourgeoisie competing for British support. Zionism received crumbs of bread from the British table, were allowed a trickling of immigration for its labor force and the formation of a Jewish brigade in the British armed forces. The British Labor Party, the ruling imperialist party of Britain prior to its latest election victory again promised Zionism a Jewish State. Again Zionism was kept dangling on a string without its demands being met.

The declining British Empire, unable to carry out its imperialist commitments is bowing to U.S. domination in the middle east and withdrawing its military establishments in Palestine. British Imperialism, too weak to stabilize its oppressive rule in the middle east, requested U.S. to take over her mandate in Palestine, while fortifying her political, economic and military positions in the surrounding Middle Eastern states. The U.S. wishing to appear as the freedom loving big brother used the cloak of the United Nations to maneuver partition of Palestine which she never intended to carry out anyway, judging by the American state departments moves to reconsider the question in the United Nations. This, of course is due to the desire not to alienate the Arab national bourgeoisie, from whom it has, through its oil monopolists leased vast oil interests.

Zionism, satellite of Imperialism whichever power dominates, is at present in the orbit of American Imperialism, but with an ace in the hole. This ace in the hole is the flirtation with Imperialist Russia, which uses the vacillation of the U.S. to pose as the "real" friend of oppressed peoples and has come out flat-footedly for partition. Thus Zionism uses this counter-pressure to facilitate its coordination into the American sphere.

The Zionist movement has become a powerful bourgeois nationalist movement especially with the revival of national hatreds in Europe. Social-Democracy and Stalinism part of Imperialism, prevented the successful culmination of proletarian revolution and thus inevitably stabilized the capitalist regimes with the attendant aggravation of national, racial, and religious antagonisms. This condition enables Zionism to recruit the Jewish proletariat and declassed elements for the cadres of national-patriotism. The anti-capitalist sentiments of the Jewish masses prevented from achieving revolutionary unity with its fellow oppressed of other nations by the policies of Imperialism, supported by Social-Democracy and Stalinism, turn to the utopian dream of a Hebrew national state to make them equals with the other national states. Thus they only become a labor supply and military reserve for the Zionist Bourgeoisie who in turn are the satellites of Imperialism.

The Arab League

The Arab League is the dominant Arab nationalist bourgeois bloc amongst the nations of the Middle East. It is an alliance of capitalists and feudal landlords. It achieved this domination through the traditional means of mass terror and individual assassination, against any opposition and its leaders that showed the slightest desire to share with the Zionist bourgeoisie the profits from the exploitation of their populations.

The break-up of the Turkish Empire after World War I, brought the Arab national bourgeoisies under the domination of British Imperialism. Within this sphere it has continually competed with Zionism for British support to retain a greater balance of local power. It receives this military and financial support by the British to prevent the semi-colonial bourgeoisies Jewish and Arab from coming to terms and thus reducing the lion's share of the spoils for Britain.

Yesterday the Arab League in World War II sought to break the shackles of British Imperialist rule so that they might exploit their populations without paying tribute to Great Britain. They therefore swung to the support of the Axis Imperialists. Today U.S. imperialism is rapidly assuming the role of supporting the Arab League against British Imperialism, while it winks a "friendly" eye in the direction of the Zionist bourgeoisie. U.S. Imperialism is playing the same role as Britain. The Arab League is the pawn of Imperialism just as Zionism is.

The Soviet Union versus the Arabs and Jews

The U.S.S.R. seeks to play the dominant Imperialist role in the Middle East, a la Britain and the U.S. It maintains military liaison with the Arab League and political support to Zionism for the same reasons as Britain and the U.S. It has infiltrated the Arab League areas with Soviet Mohammedan agents and the Zionist areas with Soviet Jewish agents. The U.S.S.R. seeks to exploit the proletariat and peasantry of the Middle East. Her motive, the fabulous profits from the extraction of oil in the middle east. The drive for warm water ports is part of that strategic goal in the preparation for war with the Anglo-American Imperialists.

The U.S.S.R. maintains an Arab communist party and a Jewish communist party which opportunistically supports the Arab-bourgeoisie and the Zionist Bourgeoisie respectively.

The Soviet Union and its puppet political organizations will not free the Arab-Jewish masses from the oppression of Imperialism.

"The Only Road"

The only road to the solution of the crisis in the Middle East is the organization of a revolutionary marxist party uniting the Arab and Jewish proletariat for the seizure of power and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the proletariat in the Middle East.

In Arab-Jewish Palestine there exists a highly industrialized economy and agriculture creating a definite social class, the proletariat. This proletariat is mainly organized both Arab and Jew, into the Histadruth Trade Unions. There is also in this area the Arab workers league, a Palestinian Arab trade union movement. The material prerequisites exist for the formation of a revolutionary marxist party that can break the masses from the support of the Zionist Bourgeoisie and unite all the workers on a program of proletarian revolution.

The areas under the domination of the Arab League are rapidly developing a proletariat in the oil producing spheres of America, England, France, Holland.

The U.S. oil interests alone are developing rich oil deposits in the course of which a definable proletariat is emerging. The Texas Company and the Standard Oil Company of California and N.J. are exploiting the subjects of King Ibn Saud from whom they have received oil rights. To whom the oil interests pay 23¢ a barrel for every barrel taken out of the country. The world's largest pipeline will be built from Dharan, Saudi Arabia northwestward through Trans-Jordan to a Syrian port on the Mediterranean. Contracts have been awarded to five engineering firms by Trans-Jordan Pipeline Co., a subsidiary of Arabian American Oil Co., a firm name of the Texas Co. and Standard Oil of California.

Thus the Arabian proletariat must become more numerous with the oil exploitation of the Middle East.

Nationalism, programs for national independence are political-military traps for the masses. Zionism is a bloody trap for the Jewish masses. Arab nationalism is a bloody trap for the Arab masses. The slogans of self-determination and marching separately and striking together with the colonial bourgeoisie are all traitorous programs. The Arab Jewish proletariat will not be able to overthrow capitalism in the Middle East without support from the international working class especially the strategically situated proletariat of England and America. The workers of England must break with the Labor Party imperialism and protest against the oppression of Arab and Jewish workers and for a Socialist Workers Middle East. The workers of U.S. must break with its own bourgeoisie and pro-Zionist trade union leadership and raise a mighty voice on behalf of the emancipation of Arab-Jewish masses from the yoke of foreign and native oppression.

What is to be done? That is what must be done.

The creation of an International Revolutionary Party to unite the working class in revolutionary solidarity with their brothers everywhere fighting against the monstrous oppression of capitalism.

A.

Evolution of the Capitalist Regime
and
The Tasks of the Revolutionary Marxist Party
Translated from
Communista Batalgia

The party affirms the given political stage is the guide in the struggle of the workers to destroy the regime of capitalism, and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. The International Communist Party bases its tactics on the principles of the founding congress of the 3rd International and the original elaboration (Thesis of Rome, and Lyons document of fraction abroad, outline of program and political platform of the party) of the historic evolution of capitalism; that condition in which unfolds the practical action of the party in direct antithesis to all democratic formations and those that directly or indirectly revolve around it.

The Evolution of Capitalist Regime
Between 1st and 2nd World War

In the period between the 1st and 2nd World Wars, the process of the economic centralization of capitalism developed in direct proportion to the deep going crises of bourgeois society. The direct systematic intervention of the totalitarian state, represents the unified interests of the capitalist class, to the end that the contradiction, internally, between production and profit be smoothed out. The propulsive force of this process has an international character, imprinting itself on monopoly capitalism, of which the intervention of the state is the historical continuation. Immediately after the 1st World War the colossal necessities of reconstruction; the development of enormous productive apparatus and steady investment of capital; the national economic chaos, desperate competition on a world scale necessitated in all nations, in different measure from one to the other, the discipline and initiative of the state. But, the explosion of the great crisis appeared wider in proportion and more intense than in the preceding ten years rhythm of capitalist accumulation. Developed concentration and nationalization of industry took place above all in the two major camps of monopoly capitalism, U.S. and Germany. The state intervening, in varying measure, depending on the condition of the nation, the directive center of economic planning on the part of the bourgeoisie. This process is a tendency in all nations, notably to increase the rate of exploitation. This is verified in the totalitarian frame of the Nazi German economy (and in measure less radical and more elastic in Italy) a nation of high industrial development, with a weak internal economy caught in the contradiction between the need of expansion and the limitations of the world market; without a market to buy, without an outlet for her goods. The democratic U.S. inaugurated an era of consequent intervention in the mechanism of production and exchange, the English labourites and conservatives promoted an Imperial plan, one economic organization tightly centralized and autarchic. This process continued and finally was oriented to a convergence with war economy as the only possible escape from the crisis of capitalist over production, and toward the second world war. The discontinuation in time and space of this general evolution in the totalitarian sense nullified on the International arena the decadent regime of bourgeois production. In the course of the second world war, the face of this regime appeared everywhere substantially homogeneous, and the formula of a war against totalitarianism appeared empty. In totalitarianism, in such accentuated form appears the economy of all the great belligerent States. This evolution of the economic structure must necessarily decide the parallel evolution of the political structure. The general meaning of great historic phenomena can be understood only on an international scale.

II

The historical stage which we speak has been characterized on all fronts as the effort of capitalism at economic planning; to extinguish the social antithesis; the shock of the class-struggle, to deprive the working class of any possible independent class action; to eliminate the internal contradiction between its regime of production and its political plan. Thus necessitates integration; centralization and the disciplined economic activity, coordinated and propelled by the state. This presupposes centralization and political discipline. The explosion of the internal contradictions of the mechanism of capitalist production conditions the violent class eruption and gives rise to an actual burning revolutionary threat of the proletariat. After World War I revolution was generally a direct threat, more directly grave in certain countries, because of complex historic factors, unbalanced productive apparatus, showed itself difficult to harmonize, this strain was concretized by the violent collision of classes, and the resultant one-party regime (Italian fascism, German nazism); in the other the method of democratic parliamentarism in a different way provided for the absorption into the mechanism of the bourgeois states, the traditional workers party and mass organization, utilizes and exploits more elastically a one party regime in a structure which gives the illusion of plurality (democracy).... to the end that the domination of the capitalist class be conserved, in a more efficient "disciplined unity of the economic and social factors. But as in the nations where fascism was imposed, an urgent political transformation in the totalitarian sense; a concentration of class defense against the proletariat. The traditional forces of parliamentary democracy not only did not oppose, nor stop the new regime, but they bent down everywhere to the limit. Between democracy and fascism there is no antithesis, but they converge the interests of the classes. We remember dominant democracy in other sectors; it did not avoid in the critical moments the use of violent anti-proletarian actions, to erect, and without pity to rally in a fascist manner in defense of the citadels of the bourgeoisie. In other areas, specially in the last ten years, after World War II, the democratic regime developed the government of executive decrees and formed the smoke screen for authoritarianism. In the conflict men and parties raised the anti-totalitarian flag, to present themselves as the vessel of the historical continuity of parliamentary democracy with the attendance of liberty and right. They feigned to forget from 1930-39 the economy was characterized in the whole world as more rigid control of production, and commerce abroad, to transfer shares of stock in exchange for increased production; full power to the presidential office to govern by decree; police regulation, over and above parliamentary government.

II- The Degeneration of the Workers Party and Mass Organization

In the nations where the political plan was not completely renounced (because there was no need), the form of parliamentary democratic institutions, and where the workers were not able to be disciplined and their integration with the State not realized, as did happen in the Corporative regime, the corporative control of the productive mechanism imposed as historic necessity the servitude of the state. The political force and the union organism of the working class passed from its own path of open struggle against the capitalist class to open collaboration directly with it.

The fascist method and democratic method even in this converge. The first suppressed the political party of the proletariat and absorbed violently the union organization (many times it absorbed the bureaucracy) in the State Corporative machine, the second impedes the proletarian reaction against fascist violence in elementary defense of the class and the counter-offensive, revolution after, thru false anti-fascist position, to put the party and mass organization at the service of and in the interest of the democratic state.

The 1st World War precipitated the process of degeneration of the parties of the 2nd International, to political collaboration, gradualism (reformism). They passed in one jump of the 1st 10 years of the century from classic polemic against the capitalist administrations to participation in these governments. But after the war was called to assume responsibility even more grave in proportion to the sharpness and extent of the capitalist crisis. The experiment of admission into government was concluded in a favorable manner. In the hard years of social trial in the passage from war economy to peace economy, unemployment, deflation, these parties and organisms had need to shoulder the burden of the direction of the state, to go from general responsibility of national reconstruction (British Labor Party) (Austrian Socialism) to greater responsibility to maintain capitalist order with all means, including the most brutal violence. (German Social-Democracy). The subsequent degeneration of Social-Democracy would not have been sufficient to guarantee the peaceful triumph of capitalist manœuvres, if it had not been accompanied by the fatal rupture with the original program and tactics of the 3rd International by the parties of the Communist International eliminating from the stage the political force of the revolutionary vanguard.

This phenomenon of such historic importance characterizes all one epoch. The diverse factors at the base of the failure of social-democracy differ from the failure of the 3rd International. That is the direct result of the entrance of Soviet Russia into the political and economic mechanism of world capitalism. But in any event, the consequences were the same:— as social democracy had been (discovered), the working class before it accomplishes its historic mission to bury bourgeois society must defend bourgeois (conquests), renounce its maximum goals and the elementary base of its realization. So, the Communist Party, the working class of all the world concerned to defend ("one sixth of world socialism") even at the cost of liquidating the program and the party, embrace the alternatives of democracy or fascism, in support of Russian policy. The parabola of this process, destructive of revolutionary value was illustrated many times by the fundamental documents of the party, need not be repeated here, but underlined as a decisive episode (workers and peasants government in Germany, Anglo-Russian Committee, Kuomintang in China, Popular front in France, the Spanish War) to the explosion of World War II, this is the down-hill slide of all parties of the 3rd International, born as adversary of capitalism, now first, march side by side and then to defend the bourgeois state. In the last few years, the Communist parties began on a world scale (as in the experiment of Republican Spain) not only as parties of government reform, not only collaboration, but as a party of war.

In the convergence of two parabolas, the space between is filled in a pacific manner in the democratic sector, violently in the fascist sector. The economic machine, disciplined in such manner, more or less elastic, by the State, can already count on synchronizing of all her gears, and the working class ceases to represent an effective threat to its functioning, is one factor. The German social-democracy made the workers councils and the unions constitutional organs of the Weimar Republic; the experiment of the popular front in France concluded with the transformation of the Union Confederations into an institution to liquidate strikes and disorient the working class movement. So, in Spain the Confederation of Labor dominated on one hand by the Social-Communists and the Anarchists on the other assumed their role, first, in the direction of the State with the aim secondly, to break the insurrectionary movement, and they are consequently equal as the dominant forces of Imperialist War.

III - Soviet Russia passes to the International Capitalist Front

The central phenomena of the period between the 2 great wars is always the arraying of Russia on the International Capitalist front. This decisive historic event itself, in the frame of the world evolution of capitalism is one aspect—certainly it is pregnant with grave consequences of the International defeat of the proletariat, after the great revolutionary battle following the war. In fact it was the reflex of the revolutionary wave in the sectors more vital to Imperialism, reacting to the intransigent battle lead by the Russian proletariat; precisely at that delicate moment, the N.E.P. was conceived as a transitory step to give more vigor internally to the economic and social forces of the nation, but retarding the march toward Socialism. Inside the party the revolutionary current was dragged down and submerged after the heroic years. In the post-revolutionary period, tradition and compromise. These forces transfer themselves on the International plane into the International struggle of the proletariat, reflecting the Russian situation.

The transition compromise (N.E.P.) of that situation provoked the last revolutionary flame consumed in new and more grave defeat, prejudicial to the course not yet concluded, of the class struggle in Russia, and to orient toward the liquidation of the revolutionary guidance of the dictatorship.

(To be continued)

CAPITALIST DEMOCRACYA Contrast Between the position of Lenin and that of Trotsky

Without fail, all the corrupt "labor" leaders and hirelings of the bourgeoisie justify their treachery by invoking the names of Marx, Lenin or other dead revolutionary leaders. This is made possible because the valiant fighters for the cause of the working class are not able to rise from the grave and shout: Messieurs Blums, Stalins, Trotskys, you lied! But whereas the tongues of the leaders of socialism remain silent, their writings (if only there be found people willing and capable to uncover the material) speak out with greatest indignation against the policies and practices of the shameless opportunists.

For the present, we limit ourselves to showing the difference between Lenin's position on bourgeois democracy and Trotsky's. We do this because of the erroneous conclusion many workers have formed in viewing Stalin as the reviser of Leninism and Trotsky its rightful inheritor. The quotations demonstrate conclusively that this is not the case; that Trotsky, far from following in Lenin's footsteps, is aping Stalin all down along the line.

LENIN: "The bourgeoisie, whose rule the Socialists are now defending in talking against 'dictatorship in general' and standing up for 'democracy in general', has conquered power in the advanced countries at the price of a number of revolts, civil wars, forcible suppression of Kings, feudal lords, slave owners and of all their efforts at restoration. The Socialists of all countries have explained to the people thousands of millions of times in their books, in their pamphlets, in the resolutions of their congresses, in their agitational speeches, the class character of these bourgeois revolutions and of this bourgeois dictatorship. Therefore the present defense of bourgeois democracy under the appearance of speeches about 'democracy in general' and the present shrieks and cries against the dictatorship of the proletariat in the shape of cries about 'dictatorship in general' are a direct betrayal of socialism, in fact mean passing over to the side of the bourgeoisie, denying the right of the proletariat to its own, proletarian revolution, defending bourgeois reformism at the very historical moment when bourgeois reformism throughout the whole world has collapsed and when the war has created a revolutionary situation." (From the Theses and Report on Bourgeois Democracy and the Dictatorship of the Proletariat at the First Congress of the Communist International- emphasis, ours)

TROTSKY: "The difference between Negrin and Franco is the difference between rotten bourgeois democracy and fascism. Everywhere and always, where and when revolutionary workers are not powerful enough immediately to overthrow the bourgeois regime, they defend from fascism even the rotten bourgeois democracy, and especially do they defend their own positions inside bourgeois democracy." (From October 1937 Internal Bulletin of the Trotskyists, from an article entitled "Answers to Questions Concerning The Spanish Situation"- our emphasis)

Notice the difference between Lenin's way of putting the question and Trotsky's. Lenin condemns those who stand for the defense of capitalist democracy; Trotsky openly declares that the proletariat should defend, mind you, a bourgeois democracy which he admits to be rotten. "One can very well understand the logic of Social-Democracy which glorifies capitalist democracy and subsequently defends it. But to admit that capitalist democracy is rotten and then urge the workers to defend it- that is the greatest height that treachery has ever attained! !

Lenin: "Marx in particular, who best of all estimated the importance of the Commune, in his analysis of it showed the exploiting character of bourgeois democracy and of bourgeois parliamentarianism, by which the oppressed classes get the right once every few years to decide which representatives of the possessing classes shall 'represent and suppress' the people in parliament..... All modern bourgeois democratic republics, including the German, which the traitors to socialism, deriding the truth, call a proletarian republic, preserve this state apparatus. In this way it is again and again fully and clearly confirmed that the shouts in defense of 'democracy in general' are in fact a defense of the bourgeoisie and of its exploiting privileges."

Trotsky: "The workers defend bourgeois democracy, however, not by methods of bourgeois democracy (Peoples Front, electoral blocs, government coalitions, etc.) but by their own methods; that is, by the methods of revolutionary class struggle. Thus by participating in the military struggle against fascism, they continue to defend at the same time their own organizations, their rights, and their interests from the bourgeois democratic government" (Ibid)

Again, Trotsky is at odds with Lenin. Bourgeois democracy, which Lenin termed the hidden dictatorship of capital, is going to be defended by Trotsky, by proletarian methods? Imagine! -defending a capitalist dictatorship with "methods of revolutionary class struggle". Truly, there is no end to Trotsky's treachery. As to defending the working class organizations by fighting "against fascism" under the leadership of capitalist democratic generals- is this not the line used by Leon Blum in ensnaring the French proletariat to die on the battlefield?

Lenin: "The Dreyfus affair in Republican France, the bloody massacres of strikers by hired gangs armed by the capitalists in the free and democratic republic of America - these and thousands of similar facts show that truth which the bourgeoisie in vain tries to hide, that is, that in the most democratic republics terror and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie rule in fact, showing themselves openly every time when it appears to the exploiters that the power of capital is trembling..... The imperialist war of 1914-1918 finally exposed even to the backward workers this true character of bourgeois democracy, even in the freest republics, as being the character of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie..... In the name of 'freedom and equality' the bourgeoisie waged this war, in the name of 'freedom and equality' the war profiteers grew rich to an unheard-of extent. No efforts of the yellow Berne International can conceal from the masses the exploiting character of bourgeois freedom, bourgeois equality, bourgeois democracy now exposed to the end." (Ibid)

Trotsky: "Bourgeois democracy decomposes together with capitalism which engendered it. The very possibility of fascist insurrection against bourgeois democracy is a sign that its days are numbered. Thus the 'regeneration' of bourgeois democracy cannot be a program of the proletariat. The defense of bourgeois democracy against fascism is only a tactical episode submitted to our line, to overthrow bourgeois democracy and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat." (Ibid- Trotsky's emphasis)

You see, the line is to overthrow bourgeois democracy, so claims Trotsky. And in order to overthrow it, the tactic employed is to defend it! Lenin, if he were alive, would laugh in his famous way of loud laughter. But aside from laughing, the workers must expose such Trotskyist reactionary formulas.

G.S.

A Reply to Ignazio Silone

The following critical analysis is based on a recent speech by Ignazio Silone to the International Pen Club Conference at Basle. In the U.S. the English translation by Eric Mosbacher was published in the New Leader, January 17th, 1948. The theme of the speech is "The Role and Pretensions of the Intellectual".

The historic evolution of capitalism to the stage of state capitalism, wherein the economy and culture of society is essentially centralized by the bourgeois state apparatus, has stimulated the use of the word "collective". Its usage has been facilitated because it seems, on superficial observation, to denote the presence or absence of intellectual freedom. The term, "collective society" originally was a semi-poetic rather than scientific formulation to describe the rule of the working class in the U.S.S.R. based on the victory of the Russian revolution of Oct. 1917. In other words, the phrase, "collective society" had a revolutionary working class significance. During this revolutionary upsurge and its revolutionary aftermath, this "collective society" gave birth to some of the most daring, creative achievements in art and literature. To this day, the creative experimentalism of the revolutionary artists and writers of the October revolution reverberates throughout the bourgeois world. Even at this writing, at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City an exhibition of Constructivist sculpture is taking place, showing the work of Dubo and revsner. Their experiments in constructivism were begun and developed in the atmosphere of a "collective society", which under the rule of the revolutionary proletariat allowed intellectual freedom.

Since Stalinism liquidated the Russian revolution, there has been established in Russia, state capitalism. A regime in which intellectual freedom disappeared, along with workers ownership and democratic control of the means of production. The decay of the U.S.S.R.; its imperialist development; the rise of Nazism and Fascism has influenced a large section of the intellectual strata of the western bourgeois society to view the idea of a "collective society" without regard to which social class rules. Thus Communism and Fascism are lumped together, falsely identifying Stalinism with Communism and therefore making an amalgam of revolutionary communism and nazi, fascist totalitarianism.

The foregoing is the historical background to one of the opening remarks in Ignazio Silone's speech, to the effect, and we quote - "for the reading of a book, even in the most collectivized society, will always be a personal and solitary act, a quiet conversation between two men." The writing of a book, and its perusal by a reader may be physically private acts, but the creation of a work of art and its appreciation are decisively influenced by the generalized experience of human society, creating the art form and the taste of the individual. Silone's arbitrary separation of the artist and appreciation from the social milieu at this point in his speech, in order to allude negatively to "collective society" is an intellectual habit developed with the campaign of the bourgeoisie to dissuade the workers from overthrowing bourgeois "democratic" society.

The liquidation of the Russian revolution, and the lack of successful proletarian revolution issuing from Imperialist War II on the one hand, and the monstrous oppression of victorious Western Imperialism on the other hand has filled Ignazio Silone and his fellows with despair. Unable to accept Stalinism, or the slave democracy of the West and rejecting the working class revolutionary theory

and practice Silone beats a retreat to metaphysical absolutes that are to take the place of the class struggle.

The first "absolute" is "that invisible underground country without frontiers which we created, together with some who are with us here today and others who are no longer alive, during the long years of persecution; that country of which we wish to remain free and loyal Citizens." This "invisible underground country without frontiers," that the anti-fascist intellectual camaraderie developed in the years of Nazi-fascist persecution is non-existent. There was social contact, but in so far as the concept of international intellectual solidarity and loyalty was concerned, that was very tenuous indeed. The "invisible underground country without frontiers" of which the anti-fascist intellectuals were free and loyal citizens is revealed to be a moral ideal of Ignazio Silone rather than the real state of mind of the anti-fascist intellectuals.

Silone's succeeding remarks bear out this contention.

"What, in short I intend to say, is that it will be agreed on mature reflection that writers, artists and intellectuals in general have no right whatever to boast of any disinterested farsighted or courageous part played by them in the sad decades through which we have passed." "Events have once more demonstrated that the professional exercise of letters or of the arts does not in itself, provide any guarantee of moral integrity or strength of character. Events have shown that whenever a crisis has overwhelmed a ruling class the majority of writers and artists have not remained immune from the aberrations and perplexities inseparable from that state of crisis."

Silone admits culture to be in decay, but does not connect it with the decay of capitalism. (We are fully familiar with the uneven relationship between the development of the forces of production and culture. But in contemporary society these lines have converged). Because to Ignazio Silone the history of nature and society is dominated by the "hero", the individual, culture, the humanities, moral integrity, assume metaphysical attire. Thus, "If we widen our perspective to include the whole of the educated section of society, we can say that these same events have demonstrated the complete ineffectiveness of the so-called humanities, that is to say, of those very studies that should by definition have a formative effect on character." Is it because he stands aghast at the picture he paints, wishing to save the "prestige" of his profession that he hastily adds, "But I hasten to add that it should not be thought that this is a feature characteristic of, or peculiar to our times."

We hasten to add these humanities are taught to enable the student to go out in the capitalist world with a veneer of polish and culture in order to achieve the predatory aims of money and fame. That while the content of these studies have a positive value, our system of education reflects the exploitative needs of capitalist society. At a certain point therefore even the development of science, art, literature is arrested by the dictatorship of the market.

Liberty and Slavery become non-objective Abstractions Silone tells his audience, "The choice between liberty and slavery presents itself to the writer in the form of a choice between his sincerity and his willingness to conform. That choice has to be made at a level of the mind at which literary or artistic notions or aesthetic sensibility count for very little."

Here is illustrated the extreme specialization deriving from the division of labor in the anarchic system of capitalist production. Ignazio Silone understands the effect of society on the sensitive nervous system of the artist and writer, but only to separate them and their art from society rather than integrate them.

This is stating the problem in generalized terms. Let us try to understand it by a more detailed examination.

In so far as art and literature become more and more imprisoned in stylistic formulae to titillate the "escapist" tastes of the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois, the writer and artist would have to think outside the frame of his artistic notions to choose between his sincerity and his desire to conform. But that is not the problem. The problem is to search for those forms and symbols that most vitally, clearly express the dynamics of contemporary society. These forms and symbols can only be fresh, innovating, if searched for in the corporeal world, and its rhythm extracted from the local character of men, events, and their physical environment and related to the general character of the present day capitalist world. We make a sharp distinction between the vulgar realism that the Stalinist State and the Truman state advocate. We fight to the death art by decree, as we fight decrees against the proletariat. The search for and experimentation with forms of expression in art and literature in the social environment which is the environment of the industrial worker and agricultural worker will lead the cultural worker of sincerity to ally his strata with the aims of the proletarian revolution. He will not go outside his art but integrate his art with the cause of socialism.

Recognizing the desire of the intellectual strata to achieve popularity, money, fame, success in the opportunistic sense of the word, and emphasizing its fear of unpopularity, a fear which might be a field in the studies of abnormal psychology, Ignazio Silone becomes more definite about what he means by the remark "intellectuals have no right whatever to boast of any disinterested, farsighted or courageous part played by them in the sad decades through which we have passed." "What I mean to say is that now that the war is over, nobody can deny that the use made by the military leaders of the work of those writers and of the eloquent slogans invented by them was identical with the use made of this or that war weapon. In fact, as soon as there was no more use for them, the principles of liberty, human dignity and universal security were put back into store, just as if they were tanks. That is why we now have this peace, which is not peace but an uncertain armistice."

The social patriotic role of the intelligentsia is deplored after the fact. Of course Ignazio Silone was one of them in shackling the proletariat to the Imperialist War machines and in preparing them for the Imperialist peace. Silone tries to impart life to liberty, human dignity and universal security independent of State and economy, a life on the plane of a moral absolute, similar to the ethical concept of the "categorical imperative" of Emmanuel Kant. This is a concept that in the case of Ignazio Silone represents a desire to ignore the material development of states and economies and the effect on behaviour patterns that produce the morality of a given epoch. Kant broke from the authoritarian god who dispensed virtue and put the seat of morality in human personality; albeit a metaphysical humanity. Kant stepped forward, but Silone is stepping back to Kant.

Silone says, "at no moment or phase of the war did I doubt that the solidarity in fact established between the cause of democratic liberties and that of a definite bloc of powers, though it might be a highly important historical coincidence and a useful opportune and necessary alliance, was not and could not be, complete or permanent". Very sadly he remarks "never identify the cause of moral values with that of a state."

This is the essential argument left social-democracy has used since World War I to World War II to hand the working class over to the Democratic Imperialist gentry.

Does Ignazio Silone forget that the abstract moral values he expounds represents a revolution that is finished, the bourgeois-democratic revolution? Does he not want to remember that the "Rights of Man" are the rights of the Bourgeoisie to continue their oppressive rule over the working class? Does he stand afraid of the only choice for the sincere artist, that is to work together with the proletariat for the revival of Marxism, revolutionary communism, the vessel for the continuation of the great tradition that gives value to human personality? Further, he says, "Only by the sacrifice of intellectual honesty is it possible to identify truth with that of an army."

We answer! Whether or not in your own mind and some of your colleagues you identify positive moral values, or truth with an army or state, your alliance with a definite bloc of powers was identification with the state and the army. Your system of metaphysical moral values is shorn of all their illusory worth. Your alliance with the "democratic" bloc of powers was not only an alliance with that Imperialist bourgeoisie but also with the Soviet Union, which was indissolubly tied to totalitarian Stalinist Russia, the police military dictatorship of Smigly Rydz of Poland, and the whole system of police military dictatorships of Latin and South America and the Feudal and semi-Feudal States of Asia. Lost we forget you were also allied to the vast systems of colonial oppression of the great powers.

Now that your ideological orgasm is over you are left weak and exhausted and plaintively ask the intellectual mistresses of the bourgeois not to forget the oppressed; "In China, the coolies, in South America-peones, among the Arabs-fellahin; or they can be called simply proletarians or Jews."

Yes, Ignazio Silone, do not forget the oppressed, but in not forgetting, what do you propose? Charity? Abstract moral values? Or the Proletarian Revolution.

D.A.